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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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CRISEIDA.¹

I.

No autograph ms. of the *Filostrato* is known to exist. The following ms. readings for the name of the heroine have been reported: Florence, Laur. xli, 27 (fifteenth cent.), in the title of Part I, *Cryseyda*²; xli, 29 (early fifteenth cent.), in the title, *Criseida*³; Biblioteca Nazionale, Palat. 354 (fourteenth cent.), in the title, *Criseida*³; London, British Museum, Addit. 21246 (early fifteenth cent.), *Griseyda* throughout⁴; Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Reserv. 6a-4 (fifteenth cent.), in the title of Part I, *Criseyda*.⁵ I owe to the kindness of Miss Jackson the information that the *Filostrato* ms. of the Plimpton collection at Wellesley (which she has identified, as she will show in a forthcoming publication, as a ms. assigned by D'Ancona to the fourteenth century) reads *Griseida* throughout. The following readings of editions have been reported or are accessible to me: 1st ed. (Venice), Luca Veneto (about 1480-1483), in the title, *griseida*⁶; 2d, Bologna, 1498, in the title, *Gryseida*⁶; 3rd, Milan, Ulderich Scinzenzeler, 1499,

in the title, *Gryseida*⁶; 6th, ed. by L. Baroni, Paris, 1789, *Griseida* throughout; 7th and last, ed. by I. Moutier (= Boccaccio, *Opere volgari*, vol. 13), Florence, 1831, *Griseida* throughout. W. Herzberg states, without reference, that the name appears as *Cryseida* "in den älteren Drucken."⁷

Chaucer, in the *Troilus and Criseyde*,⁸ and Louis of Beauvau, in his translation of the *Filostrato* (about 1442-1445),⁹ wrote the name with a C.

The same name appears in the *Decameron*, in the introduction to the 6th *giornata*, in the sentence: "E Dioneo insieme con Lauretta di Trójolo e di Criseida cominciarono a cantare."¹⁰ The reference is evidently to the *Filostrato*. The Berlin ms. Hamilton 90 (1384 or earlier), the most authoritative ms. of the *Decameron*,¹¹ reads *criseida*.¹² In view of the unusual excellence of this ms. its reading has particular weight. The same spelling reappears in the Florentine ms.

⁶ F. Zambrini, *Le opere volgari a stampa dei secoli xiii e xiv*, Bologna, 1878, p. 175. Palermo (*op. cit.*, p. 626) mentions a copy of the 3rd ed. in the Palatine collection in which the name appears in the title as *Bryseida*. The 4th and 5th editions were published at Venice, in 1501 and 1528 respectively.

⁷ *Die Quellen der Troilus-Sage in ihrem Verhältniss zu Shakespeare's 'Troilus und Cressida,' in Jahrb. d. deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, vi (1871), 197.

⁸ W. W. Skeat, *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, vol. II, Oxford, 1894, pp. lxiv-lxv.

⁹ H. Hauvette, *Les plus anciennes traductions françaises de Boccace*, in *Bulletin italien*, vii (1907), pp. 298-308. In some mss. a B replaces the C.

¹⁰ Ed. P. Fanfani, vol. II, Florence, 1904, p. 81.

¹¹ A. Tobler, *Die Berliner Handschrift des Decameron, in Sitzungsber. d. K. Preuss. Akad. d. Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1887, p. 375; L. Biadene, *Il codice Bertinense del Decameron*, in *Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.*, x (1887), 296; O. Hecker, *Die Berliner Decameron-Handschrift und ihr Verhältniss zum Codice Mannelli*, Berlin (1892), reviewed by Hauvette in *Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.*, xxi (1893), 407; Hecker, *Della parentela esistente fra il manoscritto berlinese del Decameron ed il codice Mannelli*, in *Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.*, xxvi (1895), 162.

¹² Tobler, *op. cit.*, p. 402.

¹ The writing of this paper was occasioned by a request from Professor J. L. Lowes for information as to the ms. readings of the *Decameron* for the name in question, and by a statement from him of the bearing of Boccaccio's spelling of the name upon the argument as to the date of the *Troilus and Criseyde*. I owe several suggestions to the kindness of Professor Kittredge.

² A. M. Bandini, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum bibliothecae medicae laurentianae*, vol. v, Florence, 1778, col. 134.

³ F. Palermo, *I manoscritti palatini di Firenze*, vol. I, Florence, 1853, p. 625.

⁴ Except for three occurrences of *Briseyda* at the beginning. J. S. P. Tatlock, *The Development and Chronology of Chaucer's Works* (= *Chaucer Society's Publications*, 2d series, no. 37), 1907, p. 31, n. 4.

⁵ M. Schiff, *La bibliothèque du Marquis de Santillane* (= *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études*, fasc. 153), Paris, 1905, p. 328.

Laur. XLII, 1 (the Mannelli ms., copied from the Berlin ms. in 1384).¹³

The heroine of the *Filostrato* is referred to as *Grisaida* in the *Cœur d'amour espris* (1457) of René of Anjou,¹⁴ and as *Griseyda* in *Tirant lo Blanch* (late fifteenth cent.).¹⁵ A *Griseide* appears in the *Comedieta de Ponza* (shortly after 1434) of the Marquis of Santillana.¹⁶ Under the influence, evidently, of the *Filostrato*, the forms *Criseida*, *Griseida* appear in three Florentine mss. of Guido's *Hystoria troiana*: Gadd. 45 (fifteenth cent.), Palat. 89-44 (fifteenth cent.), and 154 (1374).¹⁶

There is a phonetic tendency in Italian, not, however, consistently carried through, to change initial *cr* to *gr*.¹⁷ As a result of this tendency there are in the language about a score of *cr*- = *gr*- doublets, the *cr*- form being always relatively learned, the *gr*- form relatively popular. Among the score are *crisantemo* = *grisantemo*, the *gr*- form being vulgar; *crisolito* = *grisolito*, the two forms being equally common; and *Crisostomo* = *Grisostomo*, the *Gr*- form being the more common.

Scribal interchange of *cr*- and *gr*- is therefore natural. Change of *cr*- to *gr*- is more natural than the reverse change. Familiarity with the name *Griselda* might have furthered scribal change from *Criseida* to *Griseida* or prevented change from *Griseida* to *Criseida*.

The name is certainly a deliberately formed representative of the classic name *Chryseis*.

The only works containing the name *Chryseis* known to Boccaccio at the time of the composition of the *Filostrato* were, in all probability, Ovid's *Remedia amoris*, in which the name occurs in line 469, and *Tristia*, in which, in the majority of mss., the name occurs erroneously, instead of *Briseis*, in book II, line 373. I owe to the kind-

ness of Mr. W. H. Freeman, who is studying the mss. of the *Remedia*, the information that of ten mss. eight have *criseida*, one has *chriseida*, and one *Briseida*. In the *Tristia*, fourteen mss. have the correct reading, *Briseidos*, six have *Chryseidos*, seventeen have *criseidos*, and one has *crisesidos*.¹⁸

Boccaccio's autograph *Rubriche dantesche* show "grafia alla latina."¹⁹ His early literary habits, in general, were learned. It is inherently probable that he would have retained the spelling of his Latin model, very improbable that he would deliberately have constructed a more popular form.

From the evidence adduced it follows that the initial of the name, as Boccaccio first wrote it, was, in all probability, *C*.

The fact that no *h* appears in any of the *Filostrato* or *Decameron* readings reported and that the name *Chrysostom* is spelled *crisostomum* in the autograph ms. of the *Genologia deorum*²⁰ affords strong evidence that Boccaccio wrote the name without an *h*.

The evidence as to whether the first and third vowels were *i* or *y* is too extensive and unsatisfactory to deserve presentation here. The balance of probability seems to favor the *i* in both cases.

II.

The classic works known to Boccaccio at the time of the composition of the *Filostrato* afforded him ample acquaintance with the rôle of *Briseis* as the love of Achilles; of *Chryseis* he had, in all probability, no classic source of knowledge other than the passages in the *Remedia* and the *Tristia* in which the name occurs. These passages are as follows:

- Rem.* 467 Vidit ut Atrides (quid enim non ille videret,
Cuius in arbitrio Græcia tota fuit?)
Marte suo captam Chryseida, victor amabat,
470 At senior stulte flebat ubique pater;
Quid lacrimas, odiose senex? bene convenit
illis:
Officio natam lædis, inepte, tuo.

¹³ *Il Decameron di M. Gio. Boccaccio Tratto dall' Ottimo Testo Scritto da Franco D'Amaretto Mannelli Sull' Originale dell' Autore* (Lucca), 1761, p. 211.

¹⁴ Hauvette, *Les plus anciennes traductions*, p. 307, n. 16.

¹⁵ A. Farinelli, *Note sul Boccaccio in Spagna nell' Età Media*, in *Archiv f. d. Studium d. neu. Sprachen u. Literaturen*, CXVII (1906), 116-119. In certain other early Spanish works the initial is *B*.

¹⁶ H. Morf, review of Gorra, *Testi inediti di storia troiana*, in *Romania*, XXI (1892), 101, n. 1.

¹⁷ S. Pieri, *I riflessi italiani delle esplosive sorde tra vocali*, in *Archivio glott. ital.*, xv (1901), 388.

¹⁸ *Tristium libri V*, ed. S. G. Owen, Oxford, 1889, p. 71.

¹⁹ G. Vandelli, *Rubriche dantesche di Giovanni Boccaccio pubblicate di su l'autografo Chigiano*, Florence, Landi, 1908 (wedding publication). Cf. *Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.*, LII (1908), 456.

²⁰ Hecker, *Boccaccio-Funde*, Braunschweig, 1902, p. 255.

473 Quam postquam reddi Calchas ope tutus
Achillis

Iusserat, et patriast illa recepta domo,
'Est' ait Atrides 'illius proxima forma,
Et, si prima sinat syllaba, nomen idem :
Hanc mihi, si sapiat, perse concedat Achilles ;
Si minus, imperium sentiat ille meum !
. . . ' ²¹

Trist. II 371 Ilias ipsa quid est aliud, nisi adultera, de qua
inter amatorem pugna uirumque fuit ?
quid prius est illi flamma Chryseidos, utque
fecerit iratos rapta puella duces ? ²²

In the *Roman de Troie* Boccaccio found Briseis playing a part very different from that assigned her by the ancients. He found there, too, in the last part of the poem, as Professor Kittredge has pointed out to me, a detailed narrative representing the classic version of the Chryseis-Briseis story, in which, however, the names *Chryseis* and *Briseis* do not appear, Chryseis being called *Astrinome* and Briseis *Ypodomia*. Their fathers appear as *Crises* and *Brises*. ²³

Comparison of these very different accounts must have produced, in the mind of Boccaccio, certainty that Benoit was wrong in making Briseis the lady of Troilus, and perplexity as to the real identity of that lady. His acceptance of the Ovidian Briseis is evidenced by his own references to her, as *Briseida*, in other early works. ²⁴

He was led to the hypothesis that Chryseis was the lady of Troilus, I believe, by a misinterpretation of the passage of the *Remedia* quoted above, consisting in the identification of the unnamed, entreating *pater* of line 470 with the prevailing Calchas of line 473. Such identification might have been furthered by this parallelism between the Ovidian *pater* and the Calchas of Benoit : each requests of Agamemnon that his daughter, from whom he has been separated, be allowed to join him. ²⁵ Benoit's Briseis was daughter to Calchas : here in the *Remedia*, apparently, was a

daughter of Calchas not Briseis,—consequently, the proper person to replace Briseis in the Troilus romance. ²⁶

When, in later life, Boccaccio studied the first pages of his Homer, he found the authoritative account, an account with which his own Criseida story was as much at variance as the Briseida story of Benoit had been. In the *Genologia deorum*, XII, 52, he summarizes the Homeric account, and in so doing refrains from naming either the priest of Apollo or his daughter : “. . . plures ciuitates hostium cœpit [*sc.* Achilles], ægitque predam ingentem, et inter alia uirginem sacerdotis Apollinis filiam, quam Agamemnoni concessit, et Briseidam, quam æque ceperat sibi reseruauit. Sane cum iam iussu deorum oportuisset Agamemnonem sacerdoti natam restituere, Briseidam illi surripuit. Quamobrem indignatus Achilles diu stetit. . . ” ²⁷

The silence seems to indicate either some lingering of the old perplexity, or else unwillingness to admit the erroneousness of having made Chryseis the lady of Troilus.

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POEMS IN THE STANZA OF *IN MEMORIAM*.¹

Since *In Memoriam* was first published, there have been many misstatements about prior instances of the stanza, and many conjectures about

²⁶Skeat (*op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*) suggests that Chaucer's change of the initial from *G* to *C* was due to acquaintance with this passage of the *Remedia*. Professor Kittredge, in an essay prepared before this paper and now in process of publication by the Chaucer Society, suggests that this passage of the *Remedia* influenced Boccaccio in changing the initial from *B* to *G*, points out Boccaccio's necessary dissatisfaction with the assignment of Briseis to the part she plays in the *Roman de Troie*, and makes with regard to Armannino (cf. Gorra, *op. cit.*, p. 555) practically the same suggestion as to the misinterpretation of the *Remedia* passage which I make with regard to Boccaccio. My conclusion was reached before I knew of Professor Kittredge's essay.

²⁷Ed. I. Micyllus, Basle, 1532, p. 308.

¹See *Mod. Lang. Notes* for December, 1906, for a discussion of the technique of the stanza, with reasons why it has been so little used.

²¹Ovid, ed. R. Merkel and R. Ehwald, Leipzig, 1888, vol. I, pp. 259-260.

²²*Ed. cit.*, *loc. cit.* I substitute, after the majority of MSS., the reading *Chryseidos* for the correct reading *Briseidos*.

²³Ed. A. Joly, vol. II, Paris, 1871, ll. 26747-26907.

²⁴K. Young, *The Origin and Development of the Story of Troilus and Criseyde* (= *Chaucer Society's Publications*, 2d series, no. 40), 1908, p. 1, n. 1.

²⁵*Le Roman de Troie*, ed. L. Constans, vol. II, Paris, 1906, ll. 13086-13120.